

12

Media Rhetoric In South Africa: A Case Study Of The Floor Crossing Debate



Source: Mail and Guardian 16 May 2002

By

Constance Sebolelo Mpokotho

Student No. MPKSEB001

Supervisor: Professor P-J Salazar,

Centre for Rhetoric Studies,

University of Cape Town

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Media Rhetoric In South Africa: A Case Study Of The Floor Crossing Debate

**By
Constance Sebolelo Mpokotho**

Supervisor: Professor P-J Salazar

**A Minor Dissertation Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For
The Award Of The Degree Of Master Of Philosophy In Rhetoric Studies**

**Department of Rhetoric Studies,
Faculty of Humanities
University of Cape Town
October, 2002**

Declaration:

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation, this dissertation from the work, or works, or other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date:

Acknowledgements

Many people are indebted to the successful completion of this study. I owe more than I can properly acknowledge to my supervisor Distinguished Professor P-J. Salazar and Professor Y. Gitay for introducing me to the unique and absolutely fascinating discipline of Rhetoric. My eternal gratitude is to my two sisters Sharon and Bridget Mpokotho and my parents for their ever undying love and encouragement.

I am also deeply indebted to my classmates Bridget Young, and Catherine Wynsulley for their peer support and encouragement and my best friend Zama Mvulane for his constant support that also contributed to the completion of this research project.

My eternal gratitude and appreciation is to the mighty God for giving me the ability to complete this research project.

Ms Constance Sebolelo Mpokotho

Table Of Contents

1. Acknowledgements	3
2. Acronyms	6
3. Introduction: a brief history of the floor crossing debate.....	7
4. Mass communication, Media rhetoric and the rhetorical problem of floor crossing debate.....	9
5. Aristotle's rhetoric and its relation to the floor crossing debate	11
6. Corpus of paper	12
7. What does the "crossing of the floor " really mean?	12
8. Rhetorical situation of letter Cape Times 13 June 2002	14
9. Identify type of speech	15
10. Audience target	15
11. Cartoon Cape Times June 2002	15
12. Description of cartoon	16
13. Analysis of cartoon Cape Times 2002	16
14. Analysis of letter heading Cape Times 2002.....	17
15. Analysis of full text (Letter).....	18
16. Rhetorical situation of cartoon Mail and Guardian June 2002	23
17. Realm of a rhetoric cartoon	23
18. Audience target	23
19. Analysis of cartoon Mail and Guardian June 2002	24
20. Sunday Times news paper and rhetorical situation.....	26

21. Audience target	26
22. Description and analysis of Sunday Times page format and analysis	26
23. Rhetorical situation of editorial Cape Argus 26 June 2002	27
24. Identify type of speech	27
25. Audience target	28
26. Cape Argus editorial	29
27. Head Line analysis of editorial	29
28. Description of cartoon accompanying editorial Cape Argus 26 June 2002 ..	29
29. Analysis of editorial	30
30. Conclusion	41
31. Bibliography	48

Acronyms

- | | |
|---------|------------------------------|
| 1. ANC | : African National Congress |
| 2. CA | : Cape Argus |
| 3. CT | : Cape Times |
| 4. CC | : Constitutional Court |
| 5. DA | : Democratic Alliance |
| 6. DP | : Democratic Party |
| 7. IFP | : Inkatha Freedom Party |
| 8. MG | : Mail and Guardian |
| 9. MP | : Member of Parliament |
| 10. NNP | : New National Party |
| 11. ST | : Sunday Times |
| 12. UDM | : United Democratic Movement |
| 13. WC | : Western Cape |

Introduction: A Brief History Of The Floor Crossing Debate

South Africa has come a long way since the new democracy replaced the old apartheid governing system, structures and institutions. Along with the new democracy, came a plethora of new legislation that was to broadly transform the country and eradicating the legacy of long years of apartheid and segregation. Among the policies to address apartheid-imposed imbalances, the new Government has recently introduced the Floor Crossing Bill, which has been a center of controversy in Parliament and to various sectors in South Africa, especially in the media and academic institutions.

The Floor Crossing Bill was to be the first of its kind to be debated in the South Africa Parliament since the country's first democratic elections. It created much controversy and has been a subject devoured by both media and political parties with opinions of their own. If passed, the Bill would empower politicians with the right to change allegiance and cross over to other political parties without losing their seats.

Various political parties, individuals, academics, and civil society organizations in South Africa have voiced their opinions about the legislation. Political parties such as the United Democratic Movement (UDM) have questioned the constitutionality of the legislation and its negative implications to the country's newly emerging democracy. Among the arguments by political parties like the UDM has been that the Floor Crossing Bill takes the powers and mandate of the citizens as electors or the electorates, to the hands of politicians, the elected (UDM Statements, 2002: 1)¹. They also argue that allowing politicians to cross

¹ See http://www.udm.org.za/the_pages/floor_crossing_page.htm

the floor or change allegiance will violate the electorate's right to choose parties and their representatives in Parliament (UDM Media Release, 2002: 1)².

According to South Africa's current voting laws, the number of seats per political party in Parliament is determined by the percentages and number of votes that the party obtained during the national elections (Lijphart, 1999: 3). If politicians would be allowed to cross over to other political parties, this would significantly alter the balance of power in favor of some political parties, where seats would be gained. For smaller parties, losing members would mean losing seats in Parliament, which will reduce their size, power, influence and number of representatives.

Irrespective of the constitutionality of the Bill, the Floor Crossing Bill held serious consequences for all political parties in South Africa, small or big. In most cases the issue of party size was central to the opposition of the Bill by political parties. This was simply because the number of seats that a party has determine its power and influence in opposing any legislation, policies and raising their "voices" in Parliament.

In terms of rhetoric, it is very interesting to observe how the media has responded with its own rhetoric to the rhetoric presented by political parties. Other political parties are for the opinion that the African National Congress (ANC) was highly in favour of the legislation because it stands to gain a lot from other minor political parties and subsequently alter the balance of power to its favour, especially in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal where parties like the Democratic Alliance (DA) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) are currently the ruling and majority parties (UDM Statements, 2002: 1).

The changing of political allegiance has also been a central concern in the Floor Crossing Legislation, which makes the legislation even more controversial.

² See http://www.udm.org.za/statements_dir2002/20020424_holb_floorcrossinglegislation.htm

Politicians who might seem to be ready to change allegiances were branded as "traitors" by their political parties and certain instances like KwaZulu-Natal, they were fired (Centre for Public Participation, 2002: 2)³. The debate about the bill has also presented a lot unethical incentives for would be defectors such as money and positions. The media itself played a major role in the debate about the Constitutionality and ethics of the Bill. The media as an institution on its own was seen claiming its position as influential communicator, especially in conveying public perception on the Bill.

This paper makes a critical analysis of media rhetoric in South Africa. It does so by looking at the Floor Crossing Legislation debate. It makes analysis of material, and texts that were reported by different media institutions to create a particular perception by repeatedly stating the same view through different forms of communication during the floor crossing debate. It also looks at the active part that the media plays in policy formulation particularly its influence on any bill that draws significant attention. Rhetorically, the paper will look at whether the methods or arguments employed by the media were successful in manipulating public perception and presenting a particular view.

Mass Communication, Media Rhetoric And The Rhetorical Problem Of The Floor Crossing Debate

Access to information in a democracy is essential for at least two reasons. First, it ensures that citizens make responsible, informed choices rather than acting out of ignorance or misinformation. Secondly, information serves a "checking function" by ensuring that elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them (Centre for Democracy and Governance, 1999: 5). The media in democracy plays a role of being a watchdog, which ensures that the government remains accountable to the people or electorate in its actions. With its access to mass communication to the

³ See http://www.ppp.org.za/main_story1.htm

electorate, the media also plays a major role in highlighting pressing societal issues that need urgent attention. In this way, the media is a major actor in communicating and influencing public policy formulation and perception about the successes and failures of a government agenda.

Mass communication is often used loosely to refer to the distribution of entertainment, arts, information, and messages by television, radio, newspapers, magazines, movies, recorded music, and associated media to a large audience (Beniger, 1987: 10). According to James Beniger (1997: 11) mass communication refers to the activities of the media as a whole and "does not distinguish among specific media, modes of communication, genres of text or artifact, production or reception situations, or any questions of actual communication." These criteria used to determine mass communication in this instance simply include size and differentiation of audience, anonymity, simultaneity, and the nature of influences among audience members and between the audience and the media. It is imperative to note that all of the criteria used in defining mass communication are potentially confused when one is engaged in a specific research project or critical examination of a legislative debate. Therefore for the purposes of this paper mass communication will be used loosely to define communication that reaches the masses in large numbers.

Media rhetoric on the other hand can be defined as communication by the media (Bell, 1991). The media has various ways in which it communicates its messages to the public. This falls in the realm of mass communication. Media rhetoric in this case refers to the specific type of rhetoric or communication method that was used in the texts that are going to be analyzed. It refers to media methods of communicating with the public. Media rhetoric also has a strong hold on the public opinion in that it is a powerful force that can make or break perceptions. Media rhetoric therefore is a force to be recognized in mass communication because it holds the power to influence public opinion.

Media rhetoric comes in different shapes, forms and mediums. There are many characteristics to media rhetoric, but for the purposes of this study only the relevant characteristics will be listed and they are as follows:

- Media rhetoric is characterized by the finding of newsworthy stories which are communicated in various forms such as editorials, cartoons and reported stories,
- Media rhetoric equals mass communication-which means that media rhetoric reaches a wide audience across the country and most importantly
- Media rhetoric possesses the power to create and influences opinions.

Rhetorical situations are "situations that present problems that can be resolved meaningfully through the uses of speech and writing" (Hauser, 1986: 34). The rhetorical situation and the rhetorical problem move within the same realm. The rhetorical problem can be found within the rhetorical situation. The rhetorical situation in effect presents the rhetorical problem through explaining context and origin of the topic. By giving explanation of topic and audience, an avenue for solving the problem through communication is created.

The oxford dictionary defines judgment as dealing with decision making in a contest. In this case as shall be seen, the media has chosen a particular angle, which, has evidently shown judgment has been made about whether the floor crossing legislation is beneficial to the public at large or not. This shall be seen in the material for analysis in this paper.

Aristotle's Rhetoric And Its Relation To The Floor Crossing Debate In South Africa

Aristotle defines rhetoric as finding the necessary means for the purpose of persuasion (Corbett, 1990). In order to persuade any audience, it is necessary to find an effective means of communication. Rhetoric provides the tools for reaching the goal of effective communication. Rhetoric and communication are

often used interchangeably (Baird, 1965: 5). This means that there is a definite overlap between rhetoric and communication meaning that they are more or less the same. Rhetoric has various functions among which Baird (1965) states that criticism is one of them. As shall be seen in the course of the analysis of texts in this paper, a lot of criticism is to follow, which shall be done in different ways.

Rhetoric is also about the use of language and print (Connors at el, 1984: 45). This means that the use of language plays a crucial part in rhetoric for the purposes of effectively communicating your messages. Rhetoric therefore is a bridge of communication between different parties in order to understand each other. It can also be said that rhetoric therefore takes the function of making sure that people understand each other when communicating. This therefore makes rhetoric an important form of communication.

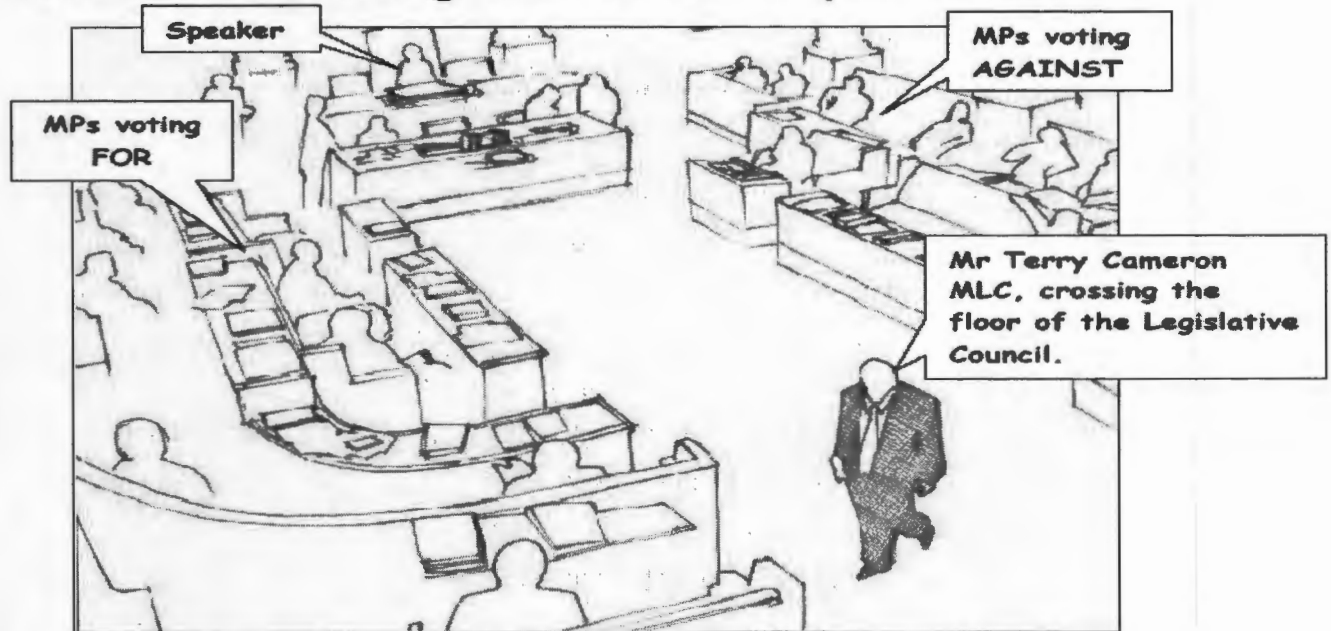
Corpus Of This Paper

The corpus of this paper is made up of the following: a letter of opinion written by a member of the public and was published in the Cape Times as well as the cartoon accompanying it, a page format analysis of the Sun day times, a cartoon published by the Mail and Guardian, as well as an editorial published in the cape Argus accompanied by its cartoon.

What Does " The Crossing Of The Floor" Really Mean?

Crossing of the floor occurs when a Member of Parliament (MP) or senator walks across the chamber and votes with the other side. This means that crossing of the floor does not mean changing allegiance but only refers to voting with another party.

What is crossing the floor in parliament?



Division vote in the South Australian Legislative Council on the Bill to sell the Electricity Trust
August 20 1998.

The above cartoon demonstrates what crossing the floor means. The cartoon also shows that crossing the floor is about how politicians vote and not defecting to another party. The members of Parliament have referred to defecting to another party as crossing the floor without thoroughly researching the concept and what its true meaning is. This definition of floor crossing is what the South African Parliament refers to as "the open vote". The question to be asked is how this concept of floor crossing came to be attached to another meaning? Meaning why did they use the term of floor crossing to refer to defecting to another party? Why did they not come up with another concept because the term floor crossing creates confusion about its meaning?

In terms of the value of constructive media, the media has not even pointed out the misconception of what floor crossing truly is. Instead it has played along by

also referring to the defection bill, as floor crossing while it actually is not floor crossing. The media has therefore already failed in this regard to fulfill the position of constructive media. The first text to be analyzed is a letter of opinion by a member of the public.

Rhetorical Situation Of A Letter From The Cape Times

Rhetorical situations are "situations that present problems that can be resolved meaningfully through the uses of speech and writing" (Hauser, 1986: 34). Rhetorical situations also provide information on the background of the problem and allow you to see the context under which the problem has arisen. Meaning that it gives an indication as to how and why the text came to be, while also at the same time attempting to solve that problem.

As was stated before, the text to be analyzed is an opinion-based letter that was taken from the opinion page of the Cape Times. This letter was selected because of its content and views about the defection bill. This letter appeared among several letters in the Cape Times on June 13th 2002. This letter also has accompanying it, a cartoon which also made an argument about the defection Bill. The cartoon is inserted between the letters but is specifically aimed at supporting and making more or less the same argument against the defection Bill.

The problem is that the defection Bill has surfaced as a threat to democracy as is its being argued by many newspapers and it has caused major resistance from the opposition parties. The problem revolves around whether the bill is going to advance politicians and exclude the electorate from the legislative process. It is the democratic right of the public to add its opinion when it comes to legislation. Members of the public can be part of the legislative process in various ways. One of which includes writing open letters to newspapers, which are then noted by the

government if they cause much upheaval. This is a letter that was written to raise a view about the defection Bill by a member of the public.

Identify Type Of Speech

This text falls in the realm of deliberative rhetoric. The deliberative discourse deals with political matters and legislation among other subjects. It also deals with whether a particular cause of action is going to lead to happiness or unhappiness (Corbett, 1990). This letter specifically speaks about the legislation and provides views about the legislation.

Target Audience Of The Cape Times

The Cape Times is a newspaper that provides news of the city of Cape Town predominantly. The style of writing in this newspaper is not very intellectual. Which means that the writing is made uncomplicated and easy to understand for quick reading, as this is a newspaper that is being published on a daily basis. This means it is made for quick reading and understanding because the news written and provided for that day only. The following day there will be something else to read. So the targeted audience is the working class who might not have much time to read long complicated stories. This will be a morning, lunchtime and after work reading paper after which the paper will be discarded. The letter appears also with a cartoon that seems to be inserted to support the view of the reader's letter talking about the defection Bill. The cartoon will first be analyzed because it also provides a background against which the letter can be read. For a person who had been following the news on the defection Bill, they will easily be able to link the cartoon to the letter.

Cartoon Taken From Cape Times Dated 13th June 2002

What would at first glance draw the reader to the opinion page is the cartoon and its argument as well as the link between the cartoon and the letter which has a direct link to it.

DESCRIPTION OF CARTOON

The cartoon depicts the city hall of Cape Town with the two pillars in front indicating that this is its main entrance. The cartoon also shows the clock on top of the building and the time shown is three o'clock. On the side of the city hall, there are two construction men. One of the men is holding in his hands what appears to be a plan for making use of another entrance and on the coat that he is wearing is written: ANC which means that the men are ANC members. There are drawn broken lines on the wall of the city hall on the side, indicating that this is where the entrance is going to be made with the heavy iron ball that is normally used to destroy buildings. The man with the plan is also standing on a ladder showing that he has climbed this high to select the area to be broken into. On the plan the words "New Window" are written. At the bottom of the cartoon the following message is written:

"Repairs and renovations...The ANC couldn't get in through the front door, so they're trying to get in by designing a window of opportunity".

Analysis Of Cartoon

The majority party in Western Cape is the DA. The Western Cape (WC) is one of the provinces where the ANC did not gain the majority vote. The western cape is therefore also the stronghold of the DA. The ANC is also known to have wanted to also win the majority vote in the western cape but failed. By showing that the ANC is not making use of the main entrance but is rather trying to make its own entrance, gives an indication that the ANC is not going about legitimately to gain control in the western Cape. The iron ball in the cartoon is a metaphor that shows the force that the ANC is willing to resort to in order to gain control of the western

cape. So the window of the opportunity as it was referred to by the ANC due to the defection bill, is depicted here as a strategy for gaining control of the western Cape. The time three o'clock is showing that the ANC goes about its activities at a time when anyone can clearly see the negative intentions initiating the bill. This also shows an open abuse of power on part of the ANC. The cartoon is clearly stating that the defection Bill with its window of opportunity is designed by the ANC so that it can gain control of the Western Cape. By depicting the city hall as the building to be broken into in order to create the window of opportunity, an indication is being given that the ANC is challenging a long-standing symbol of authority and power in the Western Cape. This can also have a two-fold message. Meaning either being that the western cape has never been governed by black power before and that the Western cape does not want to be governed by a black power. Or it could mean that the Western Cape does not want any changes to take place that might make an indication that governance is going to change its ways of governing. It some how also shows a resistance to be ruled by the ANC and a distrust as to whether the ANC has the best interest of the city at heart with its predominantly colored population. It also has to be remembered that the DA has managed to win the majority vote in the Western Cape because it made extensive use a racial argument during the lections, which promised to cater for the needs of the colored population better than the ANC would be able to do. This has also resulted in great confidence of the colored population in the DA.

In terms of the defection bill and its implications for the Western Cape, the letter to be analyzed also expresses more or less the same view and argument that is presented in the cartoon.

Analysis Of Letter: Letter Taken From Cape Times Dated 13th June 2002

The heading of the letter is as follows: "Democracy suffers". The speaker in this letter is making a statement that is linked to the cartoon that was analyzed above. This heading is making an emotional appeal, linking democracy to emotions. This can be seen as a personification of democracy. Personification refers to "investing abstractions for inanimate objects with human qualities or abilities"(Corbett, 1990: 460). The speaker is referring to democracy as a person and the suffering of democracy implies that democracy has human feelings. The personification of democracy can be seen as a way in which the speaker is showing her audience that democracy has been grossly violated.

Analysis Of Full Text (Letter) From The Cape Times

The introduction of a text serves the function of preparing the audience for what is to come. Effective introduction "catches the audience's attention, arouses its interest and makes it well disposed towards the speaker or writer" (Hughes and Duhamel, 1962: 12). The introduction therefore is crucial part of the text that opens up the topic and leads the audience into the topic.

In rhetoric there are different kinds of introductions that serve the function of different topics as chosen at the discretion of the speaker. This means that there are specific types of introductions, which are left at the disposal of the speaker to choose from depending on the topic and the strategy the speaker is intending on using.

Opening Line- " As a voter, I object to the proposed distorting and gerrymandering manipulation of the proportional representation system by allowing floor crossing, because it is obviously a means for the bigger parties, primarily the ANC to get more representation in government while going against the electorate's vote".

This introduction could possibly fall in the realm of the introduction *inquisitive*, which serves the purpose of making the subject sound very important (Corbett, 1971). As an introduction, the sentence is too long and jumbled, lacking coherence. The opening line can also be classified as an enthymeme. The enthymeme is the modern form of syllogism with a major premise and conclusion Corbett (1990). Aristotle states the following of the materials of the enthymeme: "the materials of the enthymemes must not be all opinions indiscriminately, but certain definite opinions defined by the audience or by persons in whom they believe. The fact of such an opinion being entertained must be well known to all the great majority of the audience" (Welldon, 1886: 191). This also means that an enthymeme can also take the form of popular opinion even if it is not entirely true.

In this enthymeme, the speaker is also stating that the ANC is using the defection bill in order to gain control of the Western Cape. This might not be entirely true, but it seems to be a popular opinion that is also expressed by the media. This can be seen as a repetition of the same argument made in the cartoon. The Cartoon and the letter have so far made an attack on the ANC as the wrong doer in the approving the legislation. This can also be seen as *epideictic* blame. Epideictic rhetoric deals with matters of praise and blame and is mainly a ceremonial discourse (Corbett, 1971). The three discourses of rhetoric are known to some times overlap as speakers and writers make use of different forms of argumentation. This is also allowed as *invention* opens up the door for speaker to find the necessary means or for arguing their case successfully.

By referring to the bill as a form of distortion, gerrymandering and manipulation and attaching this to the ANC, the speaker is attaching a negative stigma to the ANC. This also shows that the ANC is making use of unjust means to reach its end. This also ties in with another concept in the cartoon that the ANC has sought unjust means to reach its goal. The speaker has also stated that the bill goes against the electorate's vote. By this the speaker is referring to the changes that are going to take place in the seating of Parliament when members defect to

other parties. The speaker also refers to the fact that the seating should not be changed as the vote of the electorate has created the seating the way it is.

Line 2- "I was disgusted by the hypocrisy of the African national Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the name of democracy".

The speaker is making an emotional appeal. The speaker is expressing anger at an ANC MP for pretending to speak in the name of democracy, while they are violating democracy. The speaker is making reference to deception. This can Aristotle would refer to as virtuous indignation. "The feeling of pain at unmerited prosperity is in some sense opposed to the feeling of pain at unmerited misfortune, and it proceeds from the same character. Also both these emotions are proper to a virtuous character, for it is right not only to be sympathetic and compassionate in cases of undeserved misfortune but to be virtuously indignant in cases of undeserved prosperity, as any violation of the principle of desert is an injustice"(Weldon, 1886: 153). The statement can be seen as a form of virtuous indignation of unmerited prosperity. This is because the MP that the Speaker is referring to seems to want to appear as someone who upholds and believes in democracy, which can be seen as a form of deception because this MP referred to is being given a title that he is unworthy of and this is asserted by the speaker. In other words the speaker wants to show that the ANC MP does not deserve the armor that he is trying to claim because the ANC is not upholding democracy. So the speaker is therefore entitled to be indignant and this indignation is justified.

Line 3-4 "The current crises in the Democratic Alliance and the National party may work more in favor of the ANC than the DA or NNP. In view of this I can not understand their support of the measure".

The speaker has shown in line 2 that the ANC is not trustworthy and does not uphold democracy. The speaker is conveying the message to his audience that it is obvious that the ANC will be the sole beneficiary, so why would the NNP

support a bill that is not gives most gains to the ANC. In light of this, the speaker does not seem to consider that there might be other hidden benefits for the NNP which might not be that obvious to others. This will definitely be strategic move for the NNP, of the benefits might not seems that obvious to members of the public.

Line 5- "In the proportional electorate system, if an elected representative falls out with the political party or she represents, then the representative has the option to resign and let the next person on the party list take his or her place".

The above can be seen as an example. But it can be seen as an example in two ways. According to Corbett (1990) inductive reasoning is the foundation of reasoning and induction functions through the use of examples. The second form of example is that of the definition (Corbett, 1971: 50). The speaker has defined how proportional representation works in this particular context by providing an example while also defining the process of proportional representation meaning what does it entail in this particular context. This also gives a definition of the material of proportional representation.

Line 6- "I am appalled at the parties which have ignored the independent electoral commission's statement disagreeing with the floor crossing proposal. It is clear these parties operate on a basis of political expediency, not principal".

This is another emotional appeal made by the speaker. The speaker is instilling negative emotions. Ignoring the Independent Electoral Commission shows that the parties are not virtuous and are not respecting the authority of the Independent Electoral Commission. Making reference political expediency the speaker is showing that no careful consideration has been given to what the bill truly entails. Meaning that there is no political ethics in the manner in which

things were done and that the political parties are showing that they are principled.

Line 7- "Of course for elected public representatives in national, provincial and local government to act on principle and simply give up their seats, would mean losing all those cushy benefits".

The speaker is pointing out that the elected public officials would not just give up their seats altogether as a matter of principle because they do not believe in what the party they want to leave stand for anymore. Reasons being because they still want to hold on to the benefits that come along with being an elected public official. This can also be seen as an emotional appeal. The speaker will arouse feelings of indignation because the voter will see that he has given power to a person that only cares for the benefits they gained when they were voted into power.

Line 8-9 "Has any one else twigged to the fact that allowing Parliamentarians to cross is simply a means for them to have their cake and eat it? Never mind the voters who are thus effectively being disenfranchised by the action".

This serves as the conclusion of the letter. The speaker is asking a rhetorical question. According to Corbett (1990: 453) the rhetorical question is asked not for the purpose of eliciting an answer, but for the purpose of asserting or denying something completely. In this case the speaker is showing that it is obvious that the politicians are only in it for the benefits.

The Speaker concludes the letter by stating the voters are being disenfranchised by the fact that politicians are advancing themselves. According to Hughes and Duhamel (1962) the paragraphs should provide a summary of what has already been presented. The Speaker is introducing a new element of

disenfranchisement. The Speaker has continually made a new point in the letter. The sequence and arrangement of the text lacked coherence, thereby causing the text not to appear unified.

The next text to be analyzed is a cartoon that appeared in the Mail and Guardian. This cartoon also presents an argument about floor crossing. This article appeared on the 16th of June 2002.

Rhetorical Situation Of Cartoon From The Mail And Guardian

The rhetorical situation as stated previously are "situations that present problems that can be resolved meaningfully through the uses of speech and writing' (Hauser, 1986: 34). This article appears at time when the debate is still being held in Parliament on the drafting of the bill. This cartoon also comes about as a result of objections to the bill and this can also be seen as an attempt of the media to make a statement.

The realm of rhetoric the cartoon

This cartoon falls in the realm of deliberative rhetoric. As was stated previously the deliberative discourse deals with political matters and legislation among other subjects. It also deals with whether a particular cause of action is going to lead to happiness or unhappiness (Corbett, 1990). This cartoon makes a statement about the legislation in particular and what the legislation is causing to happen in Parliament.

Audience targeted

The Mail and Guardian is a weekly newspaper that seems to cater for professionals. The style of writing in the Mail and Guardian is more intellectual than that of the Cape Times. The newspaper is therefore made for a week's

reading because it's reading is more intellectual and takes more thinking. This newspaper is therefore not for quick reading but rather for reading that takes place over time.

Analysis Of Cartoon Taken From The Mail And Guardian Of 16th June 2002



Source: extracted from the Mail and Guardian 16 May 2002

The above cartoon clearly depicts a scene in Parliament where politicians are crossing the floor. The Speaker of Parliament is also referred to as the presiding officer of the House. The function of the Presiding Officer is to see to the smooth running of Parliament. The presiding officers preside over meetings in the houses of Parliament and they make sure that members can freely participate in debates while keeping to the rules of Parliament (www.parliament.gov.za). The speaker is wearing traffic officer's uniform. This is an indication that there is an uncontrollable situation or a chaotic situation-taking place. The pedestrian sign shows politicians crossing with a handbag that seems to be symbolizing their principles. The words "politicians crossing" clearly indicate that the pedestrian crossing is referring to a crossing for politicians. This appears on the sign only. In

direct contrast to the sign, is what is actually happening. The politician on the sign is crossing whilst holding on to his principles. While the politicians in reality are crossing in haste and dropping their principles in the process of crossing. The last sign at the bottom states the following: "do not litter". The politicians seem to also ignore this sign that warns them not to discard their principles.

Right across the pedestrian crossing can be seen the littering of the principles of politicians. The MP's cannot be seen. All that can be seen of the politicians are their heels (shoes) and the dust they leave behind, as they appear to be in a hurry to cross over to another party. The littering of their principles shows that MP's have dropped their principles opting for self-advancement instead. The chaotic situation in Parliament gives an indication of the absence of civility. Civility, according to Salazar (2001: 1) "is all the most necessary in a democracy because there deliberation spans the whole gamut of rhetorical genres, from counseling each other and weighing issues, to censure praise, to forensic debate". In this sense, there is no civility in the behavior of politicians more so in the presence of the public eye. The manner in which the crossing of politicians is depicted can be seen as a rhetorical act that conveys the message that politicians are so caught up in the process of defecting to other parties that they have forgotten about ethics and civility in the process. This results in the dropping of the trust that is put in politicians to make the right choices and behave in an acceptable manner before the electorate. This cartoon depicts the politician as people who do not even recognize that the electorate is present and can clearly see the manner in which they are degrading the proceedings of Parliament. The argument made is that there is no civility in Parliament and that this is caused by the defection bill, which is causing politicians to act irrational and self absorbed discarding their principles for personal gain. This argument can also be seen as an enthymeme.

The following text to be discussed is the format of publication explaining floor crossing in the Sunday times.

The Sunday Times Newspaper: Rhetorical Situation

The page to be analyzed next is a page that included a publication of the explanation of what floor crossing means. This explanation is given at a time when the debate of Floor crossing has almost thoroughly been exhausted. The format of the page makes a statement and an argument that has already been made in different ways by other newspapers. This page format can be seen as coming about as a result of popular opinion or an opinion that is also strongly held by the Sunday Times.

Targeted Audience

The Sunday Times is a newspaper that only comes out every Sunday, thereby making it a weekly newspaper. The Sunday Times is read by people across classes because it appears to cater for all classes. The Sunday Times has different features for young and old ranging from music to sport, to political news, to business news and others. This means that its targeted audience is almost every South African citizen.

Description And Analysis Of Sunday Times Page Format

Sunday Times 23 June 2002

The back page of the Sunday Times, is a page that contains bizarre stories ranging from sexual promiscuity to pictures of nude models. On the top left of the page is an article on Kylie Minogue, a pop star who is known for her image of skimpy out fits. Below this is an article of more or less the same nature. At the top center of the page is a topless model. At the top right of the page is an article about two celebrities who have started a relationship and details are given about their intimate lives. Below it there are other articles of more or less the same nature. The above is a description of the top half of the page. The bottom half of

the page contains the explanation of the floor crossing legislation, which takes the whole of the bottom half of the page.

Placing the floor crossing explanation, being a political issue, on the back page, makes a strong statement that this newspaper does not respect the authority of the bill and that it is seen in the same light as the articles on the back page. There is clearly a mix of concepts. But the statement that is being made is that no respect and authority and recognition is being granted to what the bill is all about. By placing this political article on the back page a strong argument is being made that states that this legislation does not deserve respect and is not recognized. This statement is being made by using the strategy of placing the explanation on the back page, which is hardly a page to put a political issue on. The next article to be analyzed is an editorial that appeared in the Cape Argus.

Rhetorical Situation Of Editorial From The Cape Argus

As has been mentioned before, the rhetorical situation of a text is a rhetorical term, which is referring to what brought the speech or text to life. Rhetoric does not function in a vacuum but is always a response to one issue or another. This text was also triggered by the floor crossing debate. This editorial is brought about as a response to the issues relating to the defection bill. Editorials normally express a view that is held or approved by the newspaper it is being published in. This editorial makes a strong stand against the defection Bill in general and as stated previously, it is brought about as response to the defection Bill and states views against the Bill being passed.

Identify Type Of Speech

This editorial falls within the category of the deliberative rhetoric. "When we are engaged in any kind of deliberative discourse, we are seeking to convince someone to adopt a certain course of action because it is conducive to happiness

or to reject a certain course of action because it will lead to unhappiness. The two main special topics under the general head of happiness are the worthy and the advantageous"(Corbett, 1990: 135). The heading of the editorial already states that the crossing of the floor bill is only benefiting the politician and estranging the electorate, suggesting that this Bill is going bring some form of unhappiness for the electorate making the politicians unworthy of gaining out of the defection Bill. The editorial also seeks to show that the Bill is going to lead to a negative future as far as future changes are concerned. The deliberative speech particularly deals with matters concerning the future. The editorial also seeks to show those concerned specifically the public that this Bill is not going to benefit them at all and also to urge them to take action because their rights are being infringed. It is also important to note that South Africa has a hybrid system proportional representation and a Parliamentary system. This means that the arrangement of seats in Parliament in numbers is based on the votes of the electorate, which means that if politicians change from one party to another, they are changing what has democratically been determined by the electorate. The media points this out to the electorate with the ultimate end result being action taken by the electorate to stop the Bill from being passed.

Audience Targeted

The editorial to be analyzed was published in the Cape Argus, meaning it has to be determined generally what type of audience the Cape Argus is targeting. It would appear that the Cape Argus is the type of News paper that is aimed for quick reading mainly busy people who buy the newspaper for quick reading during lunch hour as stated of the Cape Argus. The front-page headlines of the Cape Argus newspaper range a variety of topics from politics to overall news in the city. The Cape Argus newspaper focuses mainly on city news and they are writing for an audience that is interested in matters of the city. The style of writing can be classified as a more casual, less intellectual, making it easy to read and understand for the average person.

Editorial Taken From Cape Argus Dated 26th June 2002

Looking at this editorial for the first time, one will be drawn to read it firstly by its headline and its inserted cartoon, which makes a strong argument. The headline and the cartoon serve as a means of drawing his audience to read the editorial. Meaning it creates curiosity and interest.

The Head Line Of The Editorial

Head Line -"Crossing benefits the politician but estranges the electorate"

This is a statement. The speaker already makes a statement that the electorate is pushed away from the legislation process and that this legislation in particular is responsible for providing gains for the politicians and losses for the electorate. This immediately gives an indication that democracy is not served and there is a lack of justice. This text falls in the realm of the deliberative discourse. One of the subjects which people deliberate on is the framing of laws (Kennedy, 1991: 53). The speaker is already indicating to his audience that there is a flaw in the legislative process that is attempting to exclude the electorate from the legislative process of this legislation in particular.

Description And Analysis Of Accompanying Cartoon Of The Editorial Cape Argus

The cartoon is situated in the middle of the text. The cartoon is a row of toilet seats without any doors to close. All the toilet seats are up and there is what appears to be signatures and writing on all the walls. In front of every toilet as the mark of a x, which is an indication of the voter having given the politician his seat in Parliament. A little heading is written in on top of the cartoon stating the

following: "Proposed design for seats in Parliament ". At the bottom left of the cartoon there is a little newspaper delivery boy standing with the newspaper headlines for the day with the following words written: "What a mess".

The heading of the cartoon tells the audience that the toilet seats are compared to Parliamentary seats. The cartoon can be classified as a metaphor. A metaphor being an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature (Corbett, 1990: 460). The speaker is comparing Parliamentary seats to toilet seats. By doing this, the speaker is demonstrating to his audience that politicians are demeaning the value of seats in Parliament and that they are somehow abusing the power that was given them by the vote of the electorate. The writings on the walls create an informal atmosphere that lacks any respect. The newspaper boy at the bottom expresses the opinion of the media. The words what a mess clearly expresses the view of the media about the defection bill.

Analysis Of The Editorial

Opening Line - "Democratic Alliance leader Tony Leon couldn't have uttered a truer word when he complained earlier this week that "voters must be sick to death of what they see: its all about politicians advancing themselves".

The introduction of a text serves the function of informing the audience of the topic or discourse to be dealt with. "The basic function of the introduction is to lead the audience into the discourse" (Corbett, 1990: 282). The introduction according to Corbett, 1990, the introduction also serves a two-fold aspect: "it informs the audience of the end or object of our discourse and it disposes the audience to be receptive of what we say". The introduction of a text is therefore a very important part of the text because by doing the above, the speaker also attempts to create common ground with his audience. This is an imperative

technique in are rhetoric serving the purpose of assuring that the audience is interested enough to listen to what the speaker has to say. "The effective opening achieves three purposes: it catches the audience's attention, arouses its interest, and makes it well disposed towards the speaker or writer"(Hughes and Duhamel, 1962: 12).

There are five different kinds of introductions in rhetoric. The introduction of this editorial also falls within one of the categories of rhetorical introductions. This is an introduction Corrective. According to (Corbett 1990: 86) "The introduction corrective is the kind of introduction that shows our subject has been neglected, misunderstood, or misrepresented". The speaker starts by quoting Democratic Alliance leader Tony Leon, which grants the speaker authority in that he is affirming a political view point that is already held by the leader of the opposition party. The speaker tells his audience how they should feel about his statement that politicians advancing are themselves. The speaker is making an appeal to the emotions of his audience. (Corbett 1990: 86) states that many of our actions are prompted by the stimulus of our emotions. When it is not pure emotion that prompts our will, it is a combination of reason and emotion. In terms of the arrangement of the material, it can be stated that this is a form of refutation by emotional appeal. Refutation can be explained as a process whereby a speaker has to affirm his own arguments by destroying the arguments of his opposition (Corbett, 1990).

The speaker appears to be refuting the existence and presence of the crossing of the floor debate through an emotional appeal to his audience that their best interests are not served. Another form of argument also used in this introduction is the enthymeme. "The enthymeme has come to be regarded as abbreviated syllogism-that is, an argumentative statement that contains a conclusion and one of the premises, the other premise being implied" (Corbett, 1990: 60). The argument states that voter must be angered by what they see, which is that politicians are advancing themselves. In terms of the three purposes of the

opening, it can be said that the speaker has achieved all three ends. This has granted the speaker the qualifier for his text to be read. The speaker has both caught the attention of his audience and aroused their interest by putting the voter at the center of his text, giving an indication that the reader the most important party in his text lastly the speaker has made it well disposed towards himself. This he has achieved by indicating to his reader that he too cares about the seemingly position of the voter in the floor crossing legislation. The speaker has thus also succeeded in gaining common ground with his audience. By presenting himself to his audience as a person whom cares about the voter, the speaker himself not being a politician is also a member of the electorate and can thus identify with what he is stating to his audience. The speaker has thus presented himself as a fellow voter to his audience thereby being granted the qualifier to read his text. This is also a form of identification with his audience to show that he is one of them. It is a form of identification together with an emotional appeal because the speaker has spoken about the angered state of the voter. The speaker being a voter himself is therefore also angered thereby creating a collectivity to his statement with his audience.

The speaker is also attempting to affirm a position with his audience. Meaning that he is leading his audience collectively, those who feel angered and those who do not feel angered affirming that they should feel angered. In other words he is telling them that this is the way that they should feel as voters. This Aristotle would refer to as virtuous indignation." The feeling of pain at unmerited prosperity is in some sense opposed to the feeling of pain at unmerited misfortune, and it proceeds from the same character. Also both these emotions are proper to a virtuous character, for it is right not only to be sympathetic and compassionate in cases of undeserved misfortune but to be virtuously indignant in cases of undeserved prosperity, as any violation of the principle of desert is an injustice"(Weldon, 1886: 153). The above gives an indication as to the kind of anger that the speaker is attempting to instill into his audience. It is therefore only right, fair and acceptable for his audience to be angered, because what the

politicians are doing can be seen as a form of unmerited prosperity in that they are advancing their own interests and are not fulfilling their mandate as public servants of advancing the interests of the electorate instead of theirs. The audience will therefore be the parties served with unmerited misfortune. The speaker shows his understanding of this condition.

The above have certainly granted the speaker Prudence and presented her character as one that cares for justice in the community. In the example that Hauser provides, he speaks of justice as concerning whether community laws are being violated or respected, which also relates to the argument presented by the speaker. In this case the law that is being violated is that which has supremely put the voter in a position to determine party positioning meaning party seats in Parliament and percentages of election outcomes. The above is enshrined in the constitution, which is the highest law of the country. This in return has empowered the voter as the supreme determiner of party structure and powers. Secondly (Hauser, 1986: 98) has presented prudence as relating to sound judgement in practical matters that allow for sound advice on how to act in ways that will accord with these public virtues and will avoid the vices of their opposites. The speaker has acquired prudence by pointing out to his audience the unsoundness of judgement by politicians and the disregard of public virtues. Public virtues in this case being consulting with the voter that being their democratic right in the process of legislation. The speaker is therefore presented to his audience as an individual who cares for justice and he prudence in public matters. The speaker has also showed his audience that there has been an abuse of power on part of the politicians, which in itself shows an absence of virtue and ethics for politicians. By doing the above the speaker is thereby granted ethos from his audience. The speaker has now manifested his ethos.

Line 2-There would certainly be sympathy for his saying he is "Almost embarrassed to be a politician"

The speaker is making an appeal to the emotions of his audience. The speaker justifies a claim with authority by quoting DA leader Tony Leon. By doing this, the speaker is making a claim and emphasizing it with authority by showing that he is not the only one holding this view, but a politician who has been part of the debate also holds this view. This both gives the view of an insider who is DA leader Tony Leon and an outsider whom is the speaker. The speaker makes a distinction between the embarrassing politicians and the politician who deserves sympathy because he cares for the rights of the voter. Tony Leon is therefore also presented as a virtuous character with ethics. Tony Leon is presented as not wanting to be associated with the embarrassing politicians, making him the ethical politician. Tony Leon as the leader of the DA, does not only represent himself and his views, but he represents his political party-the Democratic Alliance. The Democratic Alliance is therefore presented to the audience as the party that cares about the rights of the audience as voters. The speaker wants his audience to look on at the Democratic Party with favor and sympathy.

Line 3- "In one sense politicians are meant to advance themselves in a democracy- getting market share in the political bazaar depends on it- and it's the only way electors get their interests nearer the top of the agenda".

The speaker shows his audience that his previous statements about politicians advancing themselves does not mean that he does not understand the concept of self advancement in a democracy. But the self-advancement that the speaker is referring to is one that especially gets the interests of the electors to the top. The oxford dictionary defines bazaar as a fundraising sale of goods. By referring to the political scene as a bazaar, the speaker is acknowledging the fact that in a political scene, politicians continually have to take advantage of opportunities presented to them in order to advance the interest of their constituencies. The speaker is also using the form of argument falling in the realm of tropes. The trope that was used is called the metaphor. The metaphor is "an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature that yet have something in

common" (Corbett, 1990: 444). The speaker has made use of the metaphor by comparing the political scene to a bazaar where people gain market share when they take advantage of presented opportunities.

Line 4 "But the crux of the floor crossing saga is whether the electorates interests feature at all".

The speaker is asking a question in the form of a statement. The above can be seen as a form of rhetorical question. The rhetorical question also falls in the realm of the tropes. A rhetorical question refers to when a question is being asked not for the purpose of eliciting an answer but for the purpose of asserting or denying something obliquely (Corbett, 1990:453). The speaker has already demonstrated from the beginning of the text that he holds the view that politicians are solely advancing themselves and this self-advancement does not include the interest of the electorate.

Line 5- 7 "There has been anxiety about the risks inherent in floor crossing since before the first democratic election in 1994. The big parties didn't want it. They didn't ever want to end up being small parties ".

The speaker informs his audience that the debate of floor crossing has previously been seen years before as involving risks. The speaker makes a statement but does not provide any kind of proof or authority for this statement. By using the words anxiety and risks, the speaker is again making an appeal to the emotions of his audience. He is showing his audience that the floor crossing debate has been a cause of great concern in the past, thereby also guiding his audience that they should also feel anxiety and see the risk of allowing this legislation to be passed. By avoiding specificity it can be deduced that the speaker can provide no proofs and authority for this statement. The structure of wording is also similar to that of the anaphora falling in the realm of schemes. One of the functions of the schemes is to exchange sounds (Corbett, 1990). The anaphora can be defined

as the repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses (Corbett, 1990:437). The statement made by the speaker is also an enthymeme. The speaker is making the statement that the big parties did not want the floor crossing legislation because they did not want to end up being small parties.

Line 8- "But the compromise, which in itself seems cynical, is that the biggest party will decide on limited periods of bed-hopping".

The speaker refers to the changed view of the so-called biggest party as cynical and refers to the floor crossing legislation as bed hopping. By doing this the speaker is reducing the status of the "big Party" and is creating the perception to his audience that it is wrong to change allegiance, which is part of the process of a democracy. By describing the defection Bill as a bed-hopping process, the speaker is also reducing and diminishing the status of the Bill to his audience. The speaker shows that the "big party" is lacking in virtue.

Line 9-10 "Strategically, it makes absolute sense to do so when the chance of gaining is greater than the chance of losing. Where does this leave the voters?"

The speaker makes a statement and asks a rhetorical question. The speaker has already shown that the defection Bill is not benefiting the voters. This also draws on an element of virtue on part of the "Big party". The speaker shows his audience that the big party is not honorable in that it is pursuing an interest that will benefit itself.

Line 11-"Leon summed this up yesterday when he argued that while the DA supported the principle that public representatives should be able to "follow their consciences" by changing allegiances, there was a difference when this led to changes of administration or government"

The speaker argues from authority by quoting DA leader Tony Leon. The speaker uses DA held views and reemphasizes them by restating them. The speaker continually sells the idea to his audience that the Democratic alliance is the party that holds the right views. The speaker is bringing to the attention of his audience that the defection Bill is going to lead to changes of administration and government. The speaker is playing an informative role, which is largely media related. But the views and concerns presented predominantly seem to be those held by the Democratic alliance.

Line 12- "Under the circumstances, the DA believed "that the will of the people should be tested and a special election held so that a democratic mandate can be obtained".

The speaker introduces the above proposition as a proposition suggested by the DA. The speaker continually incorporates his views with those of the DA by restating them and reemphasizing them as views he shares with the DA. This is also an enthymeme. It is plainly stated that an election should be held so that a democratic mandate can be obtained. The speaker is making an appeal for a democratic process to take place while at the same time seeking the will and action of the people in order for this democratic action to take place.

Line 13- "It is perhaps ironic that the challenge to the legislation to allow South Africa's first floor crossing "window of opportunity" has come not from the DA-which stands to lose to the ANC/New National Party coalition - but from Bantu Holomisa's United".

The speaker has presented himself as a definite objector to the defection Bill as well as the DA, which is also a definite objector. The speaker has also made an attempt to persuade his audience that they also should object to the Bill.

Line 14- "At the heart of its challenge is the question of whether the legislation to let MPs switch allegiances within certain periods actually serves voters, and is constitutional".

The speaker makes an appeal to the reasoning of his audience (Corbett, 1990). The speaker introduces the reasoning of the UDM and in doing so he is also making an appeal to his audience to see the threat of the legislation from point of view of the UDM. The constitution is the highest law of the country. Introducing the element of constitutionality also gives authority to the pattern of reasoning and could lead the audience to question the constitutionality of the Bill as well.

Line 15- "It is questionable, in part because South Africa's politics are based on a proportional representation system, which means that party representation in Parliament must reflect voter sentiment in the last election".

The speaker explains what proportional representation means to his audience, which could be for the purposes of reminding those within his audience who might not have given much attention to what the legislation would entail if implemented and what their vote meant when they did cast it. The speaker is giving a definition in partly in the form of a description and partly in the form of an example, Corbett, 1971. Corbett, 1971 also states that the description often mentions the genus and several of the properties and accidents of the thing to be defined. While on the other hand the example serves a two-fold purpose. Firstly the example serves as a means of defining things in order to make it easier for people to understand the meaning of a word Corbett, 1971. Secondly the example serves as a means to help people to make decisions and the definition of this example is as follows: "Examples provide parallel cases that permit an audience to see what they should do now based on what happened in similar cases in the past" (Hauser, 1986: 74). This statement seems to fit the condition of the description, as well as the definition example. It fits the decision making

example to a certain extent in that it will permit the audience to make a decision based on the evidence that is presented to them. The speaker is making an appeal to the reasoning sense of his audience. He is providing them with another reason for opposing the legislation, which definitely is within their best interest.

Line 16- "Can such a system countenance whole sale bed-hopping"

The speaker is asking another rhetorical question. By referring to the legislation as whole sale bed-hopping the speaker is cheapening the status of the legislation. The speaker seems to imply that politicians are selling themselves or their principles for the sake of personal gain. This is also a metaphor. The speaker is referring to the legislation as a process of prostitution. This metaphor will definitely arouse negative feelings from his audience. This means that it is an appeal to the emotions of his audience. The speaker seems to be arousing feelings of shamefulness.

Line 17-"The fact that disputes, uncertainties and high drama in the courts ensued is probably a healthy indication of the state of our democracy".

The speaker is arguing from probability. The speaker is also making reference to the action that was taken by UDM to halt the legislation in order to make further assessments about the constitutionality of the legislation. By referring to the court drama as healthy the speaker is making a clear distinction between the legislation and the standpoint of the UDM. The distinction that the speaker is making is that the court action taken by the UDM was a democratic action while on the other hand the legislation is undemocratic, thereby making it justifiable for the UDM to take action against the legislation.

Line 18-"But it was bad news for the politicians who were toying with the idea of crossing the floor, because their names came out just before the window of opportunity was slammed shut by the unexpected gust of legal opposition from the UDM.

The speaker is making an indication to the negative consequences of floor crossing for the politicians whom intended to seize this opportunity. Among these politicians who made known their intentions to defect to the NNP were eight DA councilors who were purged for their intended defection. A DA court case ensued in which the DA argued that the councilors were purged from its ranks because they "jumped the gun" by defecting before the window period was properly in functioning mode. This meant that the court case of the UDM which had caused the window period to be temporarily halted, resulted in those politicians who wanted to defect to other parties having to face the possibility of losing their seats depending on the decision of the Constitutional Court on whether the legislation was constitutional or not. The DA was the political party, which was known at the time to have taken this kind of drastic action against members who wanted to defect. This also gives an indication as to the tensions that had been looming at the time. The DA was also said to have forced its members to sign forms that pledged loyalty and allegiance, which was halted by the speaker of Parliament .

The speaker is also using a metaphor by stating that the window of opportunity was slammed shut. By using the words "slammed shut", the speaker somehow creates an impression that this slamming shut has indications of permanence in it. The speaker has built his case so far by clearly indicating that the legislation was not beneficial for the voter. It is therefore obvious that the speaker does not support the legislation. The speaker makes use of the proof of reason (*logos*). Meaning that the "slamming shut" of the window period is proof that the legislation is unconstitutional and that there is a great possibility that the Constitutional court will also give the same ruling.

Line 19-"The Cape High Court has yet to decide the fate for the former DA councilors who were summarily suspended for having shown their cards too soon".

By referring to the ruling as deciding the fate of the councilors, the speaker is creating a negative emotion (*pathos*) to show his audience that the councilors were in the wrong to want to defect.

Line 20-"Voter will hope that the outcome does not reward politicians who are simply out to advance themselves".

At this stage the speaker speaks as though he knows that he has been successful in conveying his message. He now speaks for the voter in unity with his own opinion. The speaker draws to the conclusion of his text by again assuming and telling the voter what their opinion should be about the legislation.

Line 21-"But it will be the ruling of the constitutional court that will define just what that means".

The speaker grants authority to the Constitutional Court, which sees to the upholding of the highest law in the country, which is the constitution. The speaker has laid down his arguments, but in his conclusion he acknowledges the fact that the constitution still is the highest law of the country and that only the constitutional court holds the power to determine exactly what self-advancement means.

Conclusion

The first relation between the texts is that they obviously deal with the same issue. The texts are analyzed in succession following sequential dates. In other words, succession is determined on the dates and progression of the debate. This means that the dates of each text follow each other progressively.

The first text that was analyzed was the cartoon from the Cape Times of 13 June 2002. This cartoon made the argument about the ANC seeking to gain control of

the Western Cape by using the window of opportunity that will allow politicians to cross the floor without losing their seats. The text also made the statement about the issue of legitimacy of power belonging to the DA. This legitimacy comes across through the assumption that of the vote of the people of the Western Cape has granted legitimate power to the DA to govern the Province. The relation of this cartoon to the letter of opinion is established through the issue of legitimacy about who should determine the issue of governing the Province.

This issue of legitimacy is further established by the statement made by the citizen, stating that democracy is suffering because of floor crossing bill that will alter the balance of power in favor of the ANC. The citizen clearly made the statement that politicians can not choose to leave their political parties because their seats in Parliament were determined by the vote of the people. The two texts are inter related as they both express views about power and control and that the ANC has chosen a nondemocratic way of gaining governing power in the Western Cape. This statement is further strengthened by the opinion letter of a citizen who is against the bill and what it stands for. The third text that was analyzed was the cartoon taken from the Mail and Guardian.

Clearly the ANC is seen as the cause of concern and being the root of the problem because of its support of the bill The ANC is seen as promoting a bill that promotes non democratic ways. The third text, which is the Mail and Guardian cartoon makes the argument that politicians are sacrificing their principles by crossing the floor while at the same time causing chaos in Parliament in the process. This process has clearly brought about chaos in Parliament and challenging civility in Parliament . Through out the process of the debate there has been severe criticism of the ANC that was expressed through media reports. The fifth text that was analyzed, clearly showed that he bill bears no legitimacy and is not viewed in a respectful way.

This text was making the argument that the bill is not taken seriously. The page on which the text explaining what the crossing of the bill was about is also of great essence. The explanation of the bill was placed on the back page of the Sunday Times newspaper. The back page of the Sunday Times reports on the social lives of celebrities stood, which are normally controversial issues concerning their sexual escapades. This definitely made a mockery of the bill and what it stood for. The sixth text that was analyzed was the cartoon accompanying an editorial in the Cape Argus.

The cartoon was making a mockery of the proposed seats in Parliament and this was illustrated through the toilet seats. The cartoon was stating that politicians are messing up the system of seats in Parliament by changing suite themselves. The seventh text was the accompanying editorial. This editorial expressed various views but the underlying statement was that crossing the floor was benefiting the politician and estranging the electorate.

All the texts were making the argument that the bill was not democratic and that it was only benefiting the politician and estranging the electorate. The ANC was seen as the main cause of the chaos in all instances. All this was aggravated by the media portraying the bill as a jest and as not being representative of what the people want. The media was making the statement that the bill should not be regarded in a serious light.

The media holds a powerful position of being able to reach the masses. The media also holds the power to create opinions by injecting them into the public through mass communication. This means that the media can effect government decision too by creating crises situations through the messages in the articles published.

As can be seen in this case, the media seems to have had a form of collaboration in terms of attempting to reduce the status of the defection bill. It is also known

that controversy sells and this fact is very much closely related to the reason why almost every newspaper wrote about the floor crossing legislation during the month of June 2002.

As was seen in all the articles that were analyzed, the newspapers were all driving the same point, which was that they did not accept the bill because it was either estranging the electorate or it was undemocratic. There seems to have been a repetition and recycling of the same material while making the same point over and over again in different shapes and forms. There was also a form of satire in the form of sarcasm in all the texts that continually attempted to show that the grounds for adopting the legislation were unacceptable.

This study has shown the chain of communication from government to the masses. Public deliberation has been seen to be actively taking place between the government and the media. The media emerges here as a powerful opposition, representing the public and strongly opposing the passing of the bill. The interaction between the media is characterized by an indirect dialogue. From the government it comes in the form of responses and from the media it comes in the form of its response and the clear criticism of the bill through its publications. The media takes its place of oversight role over government by taking part in the policy formulation process. The media is seen taking a very robust approach of criticizing the government. But how healthy is this approach for a young and still growing democracy. Such criticism may very well undermine the legitimacy of the government. What can be learned about public deliberation is that it takes place from government to media. But it has also been seen to happen reversibly. Any party can take part in this communicating process. This issue has proven how the media and the public can influence policy formulation through public deliberation. Public deliberation from all parties is crucial for policy formulation in a democracy. The media has invited the public to be a part of this process, which seems to have been declined in many respects because there has not been much response from the public. It is not known why this happened

but the answer to this is a whole other project. But this has shown that in a democracy public policies also involve the masses and interaction of the masses.

The floor crossing debate being the first of its kind in the South African Parliament , has sparked much news coverage. The debate itself has created some credibility and legitimacy challenges for the government. The government was challenged to a great deal by the many harsh criticisms that came from the independent newspapers. This criticism of the bill was carried out daily in different shapes and forms of communication.

This debate ha also shown how the opposition parties have had favor in terms media coverage. What was most interesting about this debate, is that the different opposition parties represented a single argument against the bill. The opposition has shown that the bill will not benefit the citizen at all. These arguments have also shown the government to be supporting a bill that is only meant to advance its own interests. The media created potential mistrust of the government by the people. But it is also interesting to see the way in which it is done. The media, being the opposition and representing the opposition also uses what can be called unethical methods of communication through its criticism of the government. The language used also breaks down civility and shows the media taking Part actively in a smear campaign. At the end of the day, the citizen, the reader and audience only witness a cycle of mudslinging. This controversial political issue has shown what the media can do much damage once it has taken a position against any party. Media rhetoric can make or break perceptions. But in the process of building up an argument the manner in which the message and argument is portrayed is also makes a statement about the media. The media has criticized in uncivilized manner. This is also very interesting because the South African media is fairly new in its turf of freedom of expression was not able to strike the balance between securing sales while at the same time stirring the audience to react to the message. I believe that high sales were made but the audience was not moved to take part actively in the debate.

The media therefore also lost its position of authority and this is proven by the non response of the audience. This basically shows that either the argument was lacking or the manner in which it was conveyed was not sufficient.

The debate itself was very controversial, but it did not trigger much reaction from the public. The media has made judgment about the issue representing the public. It appears that the argument made by the media did not create the impact and interest that was hoped for.

The constitutional court has ruled on the 4th of October 2002 that politicians can cross the floor without losing their seats. This means that the ruling of the constitutional court has shown that it is indeed constitutional for politicians to change allegiance. It would also appear that the message that the media was driving to the public was a message that largely seems to have been a message that was encouraged by the promise of escalating newspaper sales. This also diminishes the character of the media. Meaning that a media that does this is not a constructive media that supports real issues and truly investigates issues before creating perceptions that might be proven wrong in the future.

Media rhetoric was used in this sense for self-advancement of the media which can be looked at through the increase of sales. Does this make the media any different from the self-advancement of the politicians? No, it does not. The media has also sacrificed its own credibility in the process. Many times different parties have to be careful because the media has the ability to destroy. But in this case it was also shown that the media also holds the ability to break down its own armor of credibility by engaging too actively in mudslinging. The floor crossing debate has highlighted many issues ranging from the chain of public deliberation, to policy formulation and the credibility of all parties involved. This study has shown that the mediums chosen to convey messages greatly impact the outcome any argument nor debate.

Bibliography

1. Baird, C. (1965) "Rhetoric A Philosophical Inquiry". New York: The Ronald Press Company.
2. Bell, A. 1991, *The Language of the News Media*, Oxford: Blackwell.
3. Beniger, James R. "Toward an Old New Paradigm: The Half-Century Flirtation with Mass Society." *Public Opinion Quarterly* (New York), 1987.
4. Cape Argus, 3rd June 2002
5. Cape Argus, 12th June 2002
6. Cape Argus, 26th June 2002
7. Cape Times, 4th June 2002
8. Cape Times, June 13th 2002
9. Cape Times, 19th June 2002
10. Cape Times, 21st June 2002
11. Cape Times, June 26 2002
12. Centre for Democracy and Governance, 1999 "The Role of the Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach. Washington DC.
13. Centre for Public Participation 2002 Crossing the Floor legislation and implications for South Africa.
14. Connors, R. J and Ede, L. S. and Lunsford, A. A. (1984) "Essays on Classical Rhetoric and Modern Discourse". United States of America: Southern Illinois University press
15. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
16. Corbett, E. P. J. (1971) "Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student". Second edition, New York: Oxford University Press
17. Corbett, E. P. J. (1990) "Classical Rhetoric for the modern student" Third edition, New York: Oxford University Press
18. Floor crossing cartoon Mail and Guardian
19. Hauser, G. A. (1986) "Introduction to rhetorical theory". New York: Harper and Row publishers

20. Hughes, R. E. and Duhamel P. A. (1962) "Rhetoric principles and usage".
New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs
21. Kennedy, G. A. (1991) "Aristotle on rhetoric a theory of civic discourse". New
York: Oxford University Press
22. Lijphart, Arend 1999 "The South African Electoral System. Washington DC:
The Centre for Voting and Democracy.
23. Mail and Guardian, 14th June 2002
24. Przeworski et al, (1999) "Democracy, Accountability, and Representation"
United States of America: Cambridge University Press
25. Salazar, P-J. (2001) "Rhetoric and Civility". Conference Paper.
26. Simons, H. W. (2001) "Persuasion in Society" London: International
Educational and professional publisher
27. Sunday Argus June 23rd 2002
28. Sunday Times, 23rd June 2002
29. United Democratic Party Statements 2002 Floor Crossing Bill Will Destabilise
The Country.
30. UDM Media Release 2002 Crossing The Floor Legislation Remains
Fundamentally Flawed And Unconstitutional.
31. Weldon, J. E. C. (1886) "The Rhetoric of Aristotle". New York: Macmillan and
Company
32. Your Guide to the Parliament of South Africa, Public Education Office

Comment & Analysis



Verbatim

"I'd like to say to our country that we gave it our best shot. We're sorry, I thought we did well throughout the tournament, showing lots of guts and spirit."
— Bafana Bafana captain Tshepo Motsepe

"It's a pity they couldn't go through to the next round, but I'm in a winning situation. Now Andre will come from the poorer...
— Shannon Argente (pregnant wife of Bafana goalkeeper Andre Arendse, who gave away two goals in the match against South Africa)

"A constitution is not a key to open a bedroom to take political prostitutes to bed."
— Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dr Motsoko Phiso, about floor-crossing legislation

"The roar of an Independent DA Cape has been replaced by the yapping of an ANC lapdog."
— Democratic Alliance leader Tony Leon, on the renaming of Lesujwenhof to "Poodle Palace"

"I suppose they don't think the problem of 800-million people going hungry in the world is important."
— President Thabo Mbeki, on Western leaders' failure to attend the World Food Summit

Paulse had refused to speak to him and had been absent from work on Monday.

- Klein Schmidt had insulted DA leader Tony Leon and party leader in the Western Cape Henne Bester to their faces.
- Ellman had refused to establish a branch of the DA in Gordon's Bay and had shown a general lack of enthusiasm.

account as well in inferring that the nine were members of the NNP.

He said there was no reason for the DA leadership to give the applicants a hearing as their membership of the DA ceased to exist when they joined the NNP. The DA constitution made it clear that one could not be a member of the NNP and the DA.

"Their problem was that

(West Coast District Council), Werner Schwella (Tygerberg), Gawa Samuels (Oostenberg), William Norman (Adriaans (Mossel Bay), Maartje Ellman (Helderberg), Abre Hanekom (Oostenberg), Paul Kleinschmidt (Tygerberg), Abdullah Omar (Cape Town) and Gavin Paulse (Helderberg).

The drama started last week when their names were

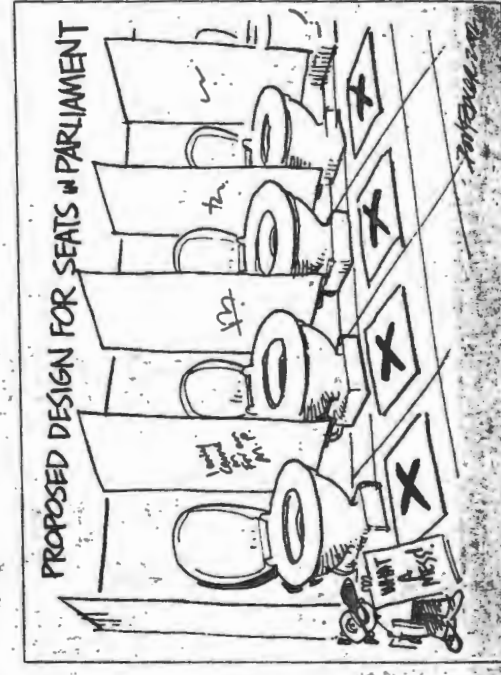
provisionally reinstated as DA members pending a full hearing of the matter.

The councillors' advocate, Fef le Roux, SC, argued that the DA acted arbitrarily and unlawfully in axing the nine. He accused the DA of opportunism and abusing the court ruling suspending the operation of the floor-crossing legislation.

Counsel for the DA, Andrew

Crossing benefits the politician but estranges the electorate

MICHAEL MORRIS
Special Writer



periods actually serves voters, and is constitutional. It is questionable, in part, because South Africa's politics are based on a proportional representation system, which means that party representation in parliament must reflect voter sentiment in the last election. Can such a system countenance wholesale bed-hopping?

The fact that disputes, uncertainties and high drama in the courts ensued is probably a healthy indication of the state of our democracy.

But it was bad news for politicians who were toying with the idea of crossing the floor, because their names came out just when the window of opportunity was being slammed shut by the unexpected gust of legal opposition from the UDM.

The Cape High Court has yet to decide the fate of former DA councillors who were summarily suspended for having shown their cards too soon. Voters will hope the outcome does not reward politicians who are simply out to advance themselves.

But it will be the ruling of the Constitutional Court that will define just what that means.

makes absolute sense to do so when the chance of gaining is greater than the chance of losing. Where does that leave the voters?

Leon summed this up yesterday when he argued that while the DA supported the principle that public representatives should be able to "follow their consciences" by changing allegiances, there was a difference when this led to changes of administration or government.

Under these circumstances, the DA believed "that the will of the people should be

tested and a special election held so that a democratic mandate can be obtained".

It is perhaps ironic that the challenge to the legislation to allow South Africa's first floor-crossing "window of opportunity" has come not from the DA - which stands to lose significantly to the ANC/New National Party coalition - but from Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Movement.

At the heart of its challenge is the question of whether the legislation to let MPs switch allegiances within certain

NEBULISER R429⁰⁰

ACTRIV 52 CREAM PUMP R37⁹⁵

PHOTEX 100 ml 52 R23⁵⁰

TransAct TRANSACT 10s R107⁹⁵

Cal-C-Vita CAL-C-VITA 40s R49⁹⁵

DYNAMISAN 30s R42⁹⁵

IMMUNO CHOICE 90s R65⁰⁰

ALCARE ALOE BITTER 90s R69⁹⁰

DETOX TABS

PRO-OXIDIN 60s

DABET ASSAI

IMMUNO Choice

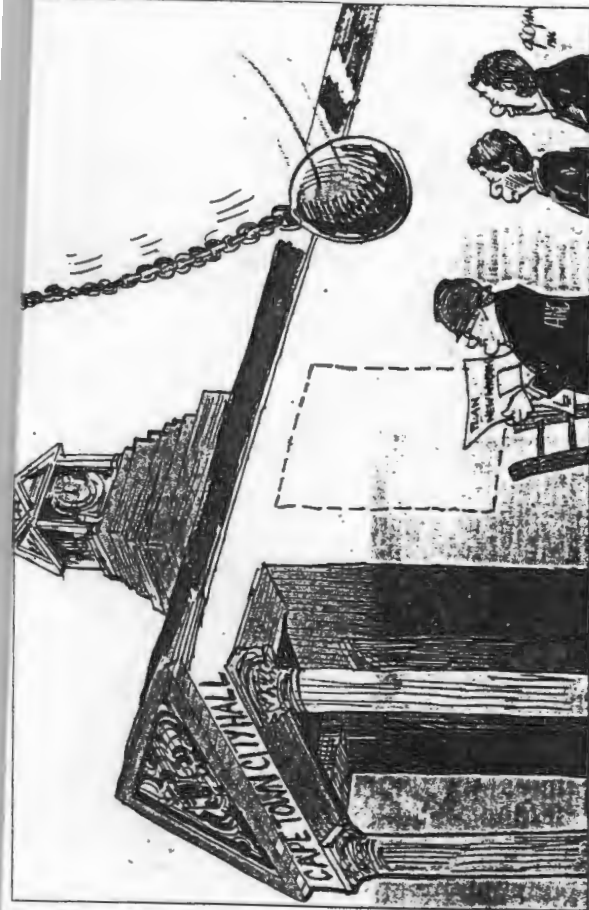
DETOX TABS

ALCARE ALOE BITTER 90s

PRO-OXIDIN 60s

DABET ASSAI

Cape Times
June 13
2002



Idols bias
AFTER a promising beginning, it has been a frustration on the state of our country.
The voting process is clearly flawed, which is why the most recent election, which was held in the form of a referendum on democracy, was so valuable in this New South Africa.
There was a always going to be bias along racial lines, which would be reflected in the voter cast - an African majority and a white minority.
Therefore, Helen Winkler was always going to get votes from the young white population, because of his looks and reputation.
So far so good.
But will have the right to our own opinions.
But when the reality is that those who have the greatest access to the method of voting, and the inclination to use it, comes from a small segment of our population, one introduces an imbalance into the system.
And when there is no limit in the number of times one can use that vote, this difference is augmented.
Unfortunately, the small white segment of our population has the greatest access to telephones, and has the most resources to use them. They can easily see that the final tally is an unacceptable reflection of their own racial lines.
In my opinion, and seemingly, most of those to whom I speak, brazenly, they are not going to be satisfied with a superior to Helen Winkler, who is to be judged purely from a masked point of view.
But they are not willing, and probably less likely to get the attractions of the country.
If I do defend the process by saying it is relative to their target market, then their stated target market is voting white people - clearly not a contribution to what our country needs in the future.
I can understand that Vodacom would want the maximum revenue, and that would be obtained from the process, and therefore would allow unlimited calls to be made.
But when the process allows certain people spend the amount of money that they can afford, and they are given the opinion of South Africans, then surely its commitment to equal opportunity should also be questioned.
We are a country that stands for democracy, and that we will have an equal say in the destination that we think.
We are also a country that is trying to dismantle a system that granted white people privileges, benefits and a high quality of life. It is a system that we think is abhorrent.
To be part of a process that entrenches it, is abhorrent.
TREV FROAN
PHILADELPHIA

It is true that it is Alan's policy that the identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.

Yes, everybody has a constitutional right to the rights of others, and murders and rapes, then he has forfeited his right to life and should be executed.
In addition, the SAPS suffers so much from lack of training, resources and equipment that it is not possible to do a job that is not a waste of time.
Yes, the government, under influence of its UN and victim-disarmament allies, seems ill to spend more than R1.2 billion on implementation of the new Firearms Control Act which will divert scarce resources from the police to the courts to the control of an abiding fire arms owners. This simply has the effect of increasing crime by turning the law-abiding into a crime.
Women will even have to give up their best means of protection, namely a handgun, if a legal possession will be complicated.
We can expect, therefore, that the will lead to an increase in attacks on women. My advice to women is that they should obtain a firearm, undergo training, and be prepared to defend themselves against an attacker who shows no mercy.
They should also join in the fight against the gun law which is only aimed at the law-abiding, calling for a so-called "gun-free" SA are also of the conviction that a woman found dead in an alley is morally superior to the woman who must explain how her attacker received his fatal bullet wound.
Alan Green

Yes, everybody has a constitutional right to the rights of others, and murders and rapes, then he has forfeited his right to life and should be executed.
In addition, the SAPS suffers so much from lack of training, resources and equipment that it is not possible to do a job that is not a waste of time.
Yes, the government, under influence of its UN and victim-disarmament allies, seems ill to spend more than R1.2 billion on implementation of the new Firearms Control Act which will divert scarce resources from the police to the courts to the control of an abiding fire arms owners. This simply has the effect of increasing crime by turning the law-abiding into a crime.
Women will even have to give up their best means of protection, namely a handgun, if a legal possession will be complicated.
We can expect, therefore, that the will lead to an increase in attacks on women. My advice to women is that they should obtain a firearm, undergo training, and be prepared to defend themselves against an attacker who shows no mercy.
They should also join in the fight against the gun law which is only aimed at the law-abiding, calling for a so-called "gun-free" SA are also of the conviction that a woman found dead in an alley is morally superior to the woman who must explain how her attacker received his fatal bullet wound.
Alan Green

Letters

Tickertape triumph
EVERYONE who attended the Mark Shuttleworth tickertape parade up Adley Street felt feeling buoyed by the experience, and the Cape Town Partnership was certainly proud to be a part of it.
I am sure that the parade was a great success and that the organizers did a great job.
I am sure that the parade was a great success and that the organizers did a great job.

Democracy suffers

ASA voter, I object to the proposed restructuring of the ANC's internal system by allowing floor-crossing, because it is obviously a means for the bigger parties, primarily the ANC, to get more representation in the National Assembly.
I was disgusted by the hypocrisy of the ANC's National Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the spirit of democracy."
The ANC's National Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the spirit of democracy."
The ANC's National Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the spirit of democracy."

A sick certificate

AN INTERESTING subject was touched on by John Scott when he stated that the South African Medical Association's decision to declare that it was a sick certificate was a sick certificate.
It should also be pointed out that employers do not have to accept sick certificates and they do have the right to check their veracity.
Furthermore, many sick certificates are issued by doctors who are not qualified to do so and some are issued by doctors who are not qualified to do so.
The patient informs me that he/she suffered from backache for the past eight days.
It is interesting to note that the employer who was contacted by the doctor of the employee's choice, especially in cases of continuous Monday sick leave.
MICHAEL DAVANAH
GARDENS

Guns for women

IN her letter "Women stand alone against rape" of June 10, Marlaine Thamm states that she "is sick of the platitudes issued by the clergy, rabbis, imams, the media, the government and the police."
Well, I must regard to rape with her words.
I want to assure Thamm that there are many more like myself who are also extremely concerned. At least 60 000 rapes are reported in South Africa every year.
No wonder SA has been known as the rape capital of the world. The problem is that the government seems more concerned about the so-called "rights" of criminals than about law-abiding citizens. Part of the problem is that the government seems more concerned about the so-called "rights" of criminals than about law-abiding citizens.
Part of the problem is that the government seems more concerned about the so-called "rights" of criminals than about law-abiding citizens.

Bank ID policy

WE refer to the letter from AP Fletcher of the Department of Justice, Cape Town, dated 11 June 2002.
Also sincerely apologise for any inconvenience caused to Fletcher.
However, all banks are faced with ever increasing fraud and criminals are using all means to overcome the banks' security measures.
The identification of clients when opening new accounts is of the utmost importance in the prevention of fraud and resulting losses not only to the bank, but to customers and society in general.

Surfers ignored

YOUR article yesterday on the Surfnetbook rugby players visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.
I was surprised to see that the SA surfing team were visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.
I was surprised to see that the SA surfing team were visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.

Bank ID policy

WE refer to the letter from AP Fletcher of the Department of Justice, Cape Town, dated 11 June 2002.
Also sincerely apologise for any inconvenience caused to Fletcher.
However, all banks are faced with ever increasing fraud and criminals are using all means to overcome the banks' security measures.
The identification of clients when opening new accounts is of the utmost importance in the prevention of fraud and resulting losses not only to the bank, but to customers and society in general.

Surfers ignored

YOUR article yesterday on the Surfnetbook rugby players visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.
I was surprised to see that the SA surfing team were visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.
I was surprised to see that the SA surfing team were visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.

Democracy suffers

ASA voter, I object to the proposed restructuring of the ANC's internal system by allowing floor-crossing, because it is obviously a means for the bigger parties, primarily the ANC, to get more representation in the National Assembly.
I was disgusted by the hypocrisy of the ANC's National Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the spirit of democracy."
The ANC's National Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the spirit of democracy."
The ANC's National Congress MP who started her speech by saying, "I greet you in the spirit of democracy."

A sick certificate

AN INTERESTING subject was touched on by John Scott when he stated that the South African Medical Association's decision to declare that it was a sick certificate was a sick certificate.
It should also be pointed out that employers do not have to accept sick certificates and they do have the right to check their veracity.
Furthermore, many sick certificates are issued by doctors who are not qualified to do so and some are issued by doctors who are not qualified to do so.
The patient informs me that he/she suffered from backache for the past eight days.
It is interesting to note that the employer who was contacted by the doctor of the employee's choice, especially in cases of continuous Monday sick leave.
MICHAEL DAVANAH
GARDENS

Bank ID policy

WE refer to the letter from AP Fletcher of the Department of Justice, Cape Town, dated 11 June 2002.
Also sincerely apologise for any inconvenience caused to Fletcher.
However, all banks are faced with ever increasing fraud and criminals are using all means to overcome the banks' security measures.
The identification of clients when opening new accounts is of the utmost importance in the prevention of fraud and resulting losses not only to the bank, but to customers and society in general.

Surfers ignored

YOUR article yesterday on the Surfnetbook rugby players visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.
I was surprised to see that the SA surfing team were visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.
I was surprised to see that the SA surfing team were visiting parliament only left me wondering what members of the SA surfing team were doing there.

It is true that it is Alan's policy that the identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.
Temporary identification documents may not be used as a means of identification for the remaining of accounts in the green, bar-coded national identification document.

Yes, everybody has a constitutional right to the rights of others, and murders and rapes, then he has forfeited his right to life and should be executed.
In addition, the SAPS suffers so much from lack of training, resources and equipment that it is not possible to do a job that is not a waste of time.
Yes, the government, under influence of its UN and victim-disarmament allies, seems ill to spend more than R1.2 billion on implementation of the new Firearms Control Act which will divert scarce resources from the police to the courts to the control of an abiding fire arms owners. This simply has the effect of increasing crime by turning the law-abiding into a crime.
Women will even have to give up their best means of protection, namely a handgun, if a legal possession will be complicated.
We can expect, therefore, that the will lead to an increase in attacks on women. My advice to women is that they should obtain a firearm, undergo training, and be prepared to defend themselves against an attacker who shows no mercy.
They should also join in the fight against the gun law which is only aimed at the law-abiding, calling for a so-called "gun-free" SA are also of the conviction that a woman found dead in an alley is morally superior to the woman who must explain how her attacker received his fatal bullet wound.
Alan Green

Yes, everybody has a constitutional right to the rights of others, and murders and rapes, then he has forfeited his right to life and should be executed.
In addition, the SAPS suffers so much from lack of training, resources and equipment that it is not possible to do a job that is not a waste of time.
Yes, the government, under influence of its UN and victim-disarmament allies, seems ill to spend more than R1.2 billion on implementation of the new Firearms Control Act which will divert scarce resources from the police to the courts to the control of an abiding fire arms owners. This simply has the effect of increasing crime by turning the law-abiding into a crime.
Women will even have to give up their best means of protection, namely a handgun, if a legal possession will be complicated.
We can expect, therefore, that the will lead to an increase in attacks on women. My advice to women is that they should obtain a firearm, undergo training, and be prepared to defend themselves against an attacker who shows no mercy.
They should also join in the fight against the gun law which is only aimed at the law-abiding, calling for a so-called "gun-free" SA are also of the conviction that a woman found dead in an alley is morally superior to the woman who must explain how her attacker received his fatal bullet wound.
Alan Green

Yes, everybody has a constitutional right to the rights of others, and murders and rapes, then he has forfeited his right to life and should be executed.
In addition, the SAPS suffers so much from lack of training, resources and equipment that it is not possible to do a job that is not a waste of time.
Yes, the government, under influence of its UN and victim-disarmament allies, seems ill to spend more than R1.2 billion on implementation of the new Firearms Control Act which will divert scarce resources from the police to the courts to the control of an abiding fire arms owners. This simply has the effect of increasing crime by turning the law-abiding into a crime.
Women will even have to give up their best means of protection, namely a handgun, if a legal possession will be complicated.
We can expect, therefore, that the will lead to an increase in attacks on women. My advice to women is that they should obtain a firearm, undergo training, and be prepared to defend themselves against an attacker who shows no mercy.
They should also join in the fight against the gun law which is only aimed at the law-abiding, calling for a so-called "gun-free" SA are also of the conviction that a woman found dead in an alley is morally superior to the woman who must explain how her attacker received his fatal bullet wound.
Alan Green

A wonderful way to keep voters' noses out of political change
This is a wonderful strategy... I am enjoying a sense of déjà vu...
MICHAEL DAVANAH
GARDENS